DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 332 812 PS 019 604

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TITLE Characteristics of Fathers' and Mothers' Jobs: Implications for Parenting and Children's Social Development.
SPONS AGENCY Spencer Foundation, Chicago, Ill.
PUB DATE Apr 91
NOTE 36p.; Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (Seattle, WA, April 18-20, 1991).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Child Rearing; Daughters; Emotional Experience; *Employed Parents; Family Life; Fathers; Mothers; Observation; *Parent Attitudes; *Sex Differences; *Social Development; Sons; *Teacher Attitudes; Transfer of Training; Young Children
IDENTIFIERS Job Characteristics

ABSTRACT

Parents, their 5- to 6-year-old children, and teachers participated in a study focusing on three aspects of jobs: (1) degree of challenge and stimulation; (2) complexity of work with people and "time urgency"; and (3) the relationships of these variables to selected aspects of parenting and perceptions of children's social behavior. Data were collected through self-reports, observational measures of work and parenting, and parents' and teachers' ratings of the participating children. Findings indicated that relations between job characteristics and parenting differed substantially according to the gender of the parent and child. Features of fathers' jobs were more strongly associated with parenting than were features of mothers' jobs, and features of parents' jobs were more strongly linked to the parenting of sons than of daughters. Boys appeared to benefit selectively when parents had higher quality jobs. Parents, especially fathers, behaved more warmly and responsively with sons. They reported a firm but flexible disciplinary orientation: a pattern that did not typically emerge in relation to daughters. These findings survived controls for parental education and other potentially confounding variables. Analyses designed to probe the influence of job characteristics on parenting provided evidence for a mood spillover explanation and a transfer of training explanation. (Author/RH)

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Characteristics of Fathers' and Mothers' Jobs: Implications for Parenting and Children's Social Development*

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*Due to time constraints on the presentation of this paper, material on children's development has been treated only briefly.

Symposium presentation, biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, WA, April 1991. This research was supported by a grant from The Spencer Foundation, Ellen Greenberger and Wendy Goldberg, Co-Principal Investigators.

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Abstract

This study focused on three aspects of jobs --degree of challenge and stimulation, complexity of work with people and time urgency -- and their relations to selected aspects of parenting and perceptions of children's social behavior. Parents, their 5- 6-year-old child, and teachers participated in the study, which drew on self-report and observational measures of work and parenting and parent and teacher ratings of youngsters. Key findings include the following: (a) Relations between job-characteristics and parenting differed substantially by gender of parent and child. Features of fathers' jobs were more strongly associated with parenting than was the case for mothers, and features of parents' jobs were more strongly linked to the parenting of sons than that of daughters; (b) Boys appeared to benefit selectively when parents had higher-quality jobs (more challenging, more complex): Parents (especially, fathers) with higher-quality jobs spent more time with sons, behaved more warmly and responsively, and reported a firm-but-flexible disciplinary orientation --a pattern that did not emerge, typically, in relation to daughters. These findings survived controls for parental education, among other potentially confounding variables. (c) Further analyses, designed to probe how job-characteristics influence parenting, provided evidence for both a mood spillover explanation (seen when controlling for depression reduces the job-parenting association) and a "transfer of training" explanation (i.e., of job skills to the parenting enterprise) and demonstrated differences in these processes for men and women.

More than two decades ago, sociologist Melvin Kohn showed that the nature of men's jobs has implications for their child-rearing values or goals, and for the type of discipline they exercise. A capsule version of his findings, which are familiar to most of you, is that men who experienced a high level of autonomy on the job tended to value independence in their children, to focus on their children's intentions when considering a disciplinary response to their behavior, and to use reasoning and withdrawal of rewards as disciplinary methods; whereas men in closely-supervised jobs with little opportunity for self-direction --often, blue-collar workers-- tended to value conformity and obedience in their children, to focus on the consequences of what their child did, and to rely more heavily on physical discipline (Kohn, 1969). Related research, based on longitudinal designs and causal modeling of cross-sectional data, has shown not only that selection factors draw people with job-compatible attributes into certain kinds of work, but that the kind of work we do further shapes our development. Thus, jobs with a high degree of complexity in the substance of the work promote more flexible thinking and a more favorable self-concept (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Mortimer, Lorence & Kumka, 1986).

Psychologists have shown little interest in pursuing the issues initailly raised by Kohn's research on the nature of fathers' work. And despite several decades of research by psychologists concerning the effects of maternal employment on parenting processes and children's development, the nature of mothers' jobs has received little or no attention. In this presentation, we consider whether

differences in the nature of fathers' and mothers' jobs --how challenging or stimulating the job is, how complex the work with people, how time-pressured--is related to the way fathers and mothers "parent." We will comment more briefly on the relations between men's and women's job characteristics and the way parents and others view their children.

The model depicted in Fig. 1 shows the hypothesized relations among these variables. (See Fig. 1.) In general, we assume that job characteristics have direct effects on parenting behavior, and both direct and indirect effects on perceptions of children (indirect meaning by way of effects on parenting). Not surprisingly, we also assume that differences in parenting will be associated with differences in child outcomes! In today's presentation, we concentrate mainly on the linkages between work and parenting. As the arrows indicate, we think that challenging, stimulating jobs, and jobs that involve complex dealings with people, will lead to better-quality parenting --e.g., more warmth and responsiveness to the child, higher-quality explanations of ongoing events, less harsh, more firm-but-flexible, style of controlling the child.

Several theoretical frameworks are consistent with these expectations. Greater parental warmth, for example, could be anticipated on the basis of spillover or generalization of positive affect from work to home. Better-quality explanations and the use of firm-but-flexible parenting techniques could be anticipated on the premise that people whose work demands the use of high-level

cognitive resources are more likely to have and use such resources in dealing with their children. (People who have complex dealings with other adults on the job may develop greater ability to understand others' needs and perspectives and may acquire better interpersonal negotiation strategies.) Similarly, jobs that allow one little flexibility and put one under a lot of time pressure may prompt lower-quality parenting, because such jobs undermine the person's mood and promote transfer of an outcome-oriented ("get-the-job-done") rather than an inductive style of parenting.

I'll be briefer about the work-to-child behavior linkages. As I've just indicated, the indirect path from mothers' and fathers' work to child outcomes is assumed to operate through parenting practices. The direct effects hypothesis is that mood-states generated by work spill over to the home: Men and women whose jobs are stimulating and involve complex interactions with other people will have more positive moods. They will perceive their children's behavior in a more favorable light and will see their behavior as less annoying or problematic.

Sample

(See Table 1.)

The sample for this study consisted of mothers, fathers, teachers, and 5- and 6-year-old children (M= 6 years). The families were largely white, middle to upper-middle class, and well-educated (about one-half of all mothers and fathers had a college degree or more). All were dual-earner households. For parental self-report data, we had 113 mothers and 63 fathers. For data based on

videotaped interactions in the lab, we had 73 mothers and 45 fathers. For data based on teachers' perceptions of children's positive and problem behaviors, we had 67 cases. Details regarding the sample and sampling procedure are available elsewhere (e.g., Goldberg and Nagel, 1991; Greenberger & O'Neil, in press).

Measures

Time-investment in work and parenting. To supplement our focus on the characteristics of parents' jobs, we obtained information about the amount of time parents invested in work and parenting activities.

Parents individually reported (a) the total number of hours per week they spent at work and performing work-related activities at home. They also indicated (b) how much time during the week and (c) on weekends they spent alone with the target child, and (d) how much time they devoted to helping their child develop a variety of skills (i.e., from a list of items reflecting academic, athletic, mechanical, interpersonal, and other skills).

Tables 2.1,, 2.2., and 2.3 give the flavor of our measures of (e) parents' jobs, (f) their parenting behaviors (other than time allocations to the child), and (g) the behaviors typical of their child in recent months.

(See Table 2.1)

Job characteristics. The degree of challenge and urgency were obtained by self-report scales that were developed by Robin O'Neil from items in the Quality of Employment Survey (Quinn & Staines, 1979). The challenge scale had alphas above .80 for men and women

respondents; the urgency scale, above .70. Complexity of work with people was obtained by matching parents' descriptions of their jobs with job-descriptions given in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles and assigning the corresponding rating for complexity of work with people. At opposite ends of the complexity dimension are jobs characterized by mentoring others and jobs characterized by taking instruction from or serving others. (See Table 2.2)

You might want to know, "How are the three aspects of jobs related?" The answer: "Quite modestly." The highest correlations were in the low .30s, for fathers, for whom challenging jobs were moderately associated with time urgency.

The survey containing these questions was administered 4-7 months earlier than the laboratory session, described below, took place.

Parental Warmth and Responsiveness and Quality of Explanations were observed during videotaped parent-child interactions in the lab. In contrast to the measures of parenting described by Wendy Goldberg and Stacy Nagel, both emotional tone and quality of explanations were rated during situations that were unrelated to the child's achievement. (At the times we made our ratings, the child had no structured task to fulfill, but the parents did. For example, parents were engaged in resolving disagreements on how to respond to a number of common child-rearing dilemmas; children were unoccupied.) Interrater reliability for the two parental measures, Warmth and Responsiveness and Quality of Explanations, was over .77.

Type of Parental Control was assessed by self-report measures,

with each individual getting a score on Lax control, Harsh control, and Firm-flexible control. Alphas ranged from .48 (Lax, mothers) to .75 (Harsh, Fathers).

(See Table 2.3)

Perceptions of Child's Behavior were based on two scales, one measuring the frequency of positive traits --prosocial behavior, self-control, and positive mood; and the other, the frequency of problem traits, in the last 3 months (parents) or month (teachers). Alphas were between .77 and .89. The Problems scale is a slight adaptation of a scale by Peterson and Zill (1986) that was used in the NLSY - Mothers supplement (the data set on which the first presentation was based); the Positive scale draws from Block's (1965) California Child Q-sort and other sources.

Teacher ratings were obtained approximately 6 months after parental ratings of the child.

Table 3 summarizes the data we obtained and their source. (See Table 3).

Data analysis

The findings we report are broken out by gender of parent and gener of child: i.e., fathers with sons, fathers with daughters, mothers with sons, mothers with daughters. This strategy was necessitated by our discovery, during pilot analyses of the data, that there were substantial differences in relations between job characteristics and parenting across subgroups.

Because of the relatively small sample sizes when we look at the data separately for the subgroups just noted, the data analysis

stays simple. We focus on the correlations between job characteristics and parenting; and on partial correlations, controlling for the possible effects of parental education, total hours of work and work-related activity, job satisfaction, and depressed mood. (See Table 4). As an example of why we partialled out the effects of these variables, let's focus on challenging jobs. It is possible that any apparent relationship between challenging, stimulating jobs and parenting is due to the fact that such jobs are associated with higher education, involve more hours of work, promote greater job satisfaction, and induce brighter, less depressed moods. Alternatively, these "control" variables might influence both the quality of the job one holds and the quality of one's parenting.

Overall, the findings we report below withstood the inclusion of control variables. Important exceptions are noted, and contribute to our understanding of the processes that underly linkages between job characteristics and parenting processes and between job characteristics and perceptions of children.

Findings

I. Job Characteristics and Time-Investment in Work and Parenting

It might be expected that challenging, complex, and time-pressured jobs are associated with more time allocation to work and less to parenting. This is by no means the theme of the following results, although the initial finding we report may lead you to think so. Let's start by looking at the mothers' data.

(See Table 5, second column [Mothers].)

1. Mothers whose work is more challenging and time-urgent (but not those whose work is more complex with respect to people) spend more total hours working. They do so regardless of whether their 5- or 6-year-old is a boy or a girl (r's range from .26 to .40, $p < .05$ to $p < .001$).

2. Turning to the issue of mothers' time-allocation to parenting, we see that the nature of their jobs is unrelated to how much time mothers devote to their sons. However, mothers with more time-pressured jobs devote less time to developing daughters' skills. This relationship survives controls except for all variables except total hours spent weekly on work and work-related activity, suggesting that shared variance between time-pressure on the job and hours devoted to work accounts for the relationship between time-urgent jobs and mothers' lower investment in promoting daughters' skills.

The picture for fathers is quite different.

3. Fathers whose work is more challenging, involves more complex dealings with people, and is more time-urgent spend significantly longer total hours working and doing job-related activities --only if their 6-year-old is a daughter. (There is no association between high-quality and demanding jobs and fathers' work hours in the case of fathers with a son this age.) The correlations for fathers of daughters range from .41 (for job-challenge) to .63 (for complexity of work with people), $p<.05$ to $p<.001$; the correlations for fathers of sons, from .01 to -.13, ns).

Thes correlations are virtually impervious to controls for potentially confounding variables such as educational attainment, job satisfaction, and depression (as was also the case for mothers).

Not only doesn't demanding work "go with" longer hours of work when men have sons, but certain "positive" job demands are associated with fathers' spending more time with their sons, as the next two sets of findings indicate.

4. Men whose jobs involve more complex dealings with people report that they spend more weekday and weekend time alone with their boys and devote more time to developing their sons' skills (e.g., academic, athletic, mechanical, interpersonal). (There is also a strong trend-level [p.06] association between challeng.ng jobs and fathers' time devoted to sons' skill-development.) These associations are not present among fathers whose 5- or 6-year-old -- the target child-- is a daughter: For example, the correlations between complexity of work with people and time spent on child's skill-development are .41, $p<.01$, for fathers with sons but only -.04, ns, for fathers with daughters.

The relationships between complexity of work with people and the allocation of time and effort to parenting of sons are remarkably invulnerable to controls for potentially confounding variables.

5. Moreover, men who have greater time-pressure on the job report spending less weekday and weekend time with daughters, but not with sons (both r's, about .50, $p<.01$). Partialling out the effects of potentially confounding variables has virtually no effect

on these relationships.

To summarize: While boys may benefit selectively from fathers' time and ability-enhancing efforts when fathers have high-quality jobs, this is not the case for girls. If anything, girls appear to suffer selectively when either parent has a high-quality or time-urgent job. We say "appear" to suffer, since it is possible that girls, who may get more parental attention than they need, don't really "suffer" from a reduction of parental time, including less maternal time spent promoting girls' acquisition of various skills.

Now to the main course, which features job characteristics in relation to aspects of parenting other than time-allocations.

Table 6 combines the results I just presented with further findings, in bold type. All of the following relationships survived when education was partialled out; and in only a few cases did controls for other variables reduce these relationships meaningfully. We will speak about some of these cases in section III, below.

II. Job Characteristics and Non-Time Allocation Parenting Measures

1. Fathers with more challenging jobs were observed giving higher-quality explanations to sons ($r=.34$, $p<.05$), but not daughters. They also reported that they were more firm-but-flexible and less harsh in their control orientation toward sons ($r=.33$, $p<.05$ and $r=-.28$, $p<.05$). These findings are not the result of fathers' generally giving better-quality explanations, more firm or less harsh parenting to sons. (The relevant one-way ANOVAs were

not significant.)

2. A similar story emerges with respect to the complexity of fathers' work with people. Fathers whose jobs are more complex in this respect were observed to relate to their sons (but not their daughters) more warmly and responsively ($r=.66$, $p<.001$); and reported less harsh and less lax styles of controlling sons ($r=-.31$, $p<.05$, and $r= -.38$, $p <.01$).

Complex "people-work" also was significantly correlated with firm-flexible parenting of daughters ($r=.37$, $p<.05$).

3. Time-urgency at work was associated mainly with fathers' parenting of their daughters. When fathers are under pressure from time demands and inflexible routines on the job, they are less lax with daughters.

Now the comparable data for mothers.
(See Table 7.)

4. As was the case for fathers, mothers with more challenging, stimulating jobs were observed to give higher-quality explanations to their sons (but not their daughters), $r=.31$, $p<.01$.

Mothers who viewed their jobs as more challenging also had a nonsignificant tendency to report laxer control of daughters (but not sons), $r=.24$, $p<.07$. Controlling for depression raised the initial correlation to significance. This finding, in combination with the finding that the previous relationship (between challenge and quality of explanations) was not diminished when depression was controlled, suggests that mood does not account for the relationship

between challenge on the job and quality of parenting.

5. More consistent relationships between the complexity of mothers' work with people and high-quality parenting of sons was revealed for mothers than was for fathers. Mothers whose work with people was more complex were observed to be more warm and responsive ($r=.34$, $p<.01$) and to provide higher-quality explanations ($r=.33$, $p<.01$) to their boys. Mothers with complex people-jobs also reported less harsh ($r= -.22$, $p<.05$) and more firm-flexible ($r=.28$, $p<.01$) styles of control in relation to their sons.

6. Time-urgency at work was unrelated to mothers' parenting of either sons or daughters.

III. Processes that link job characteristics with parenting practices

The data just summarized point to systematic relations between job characteristics (especially, fathers') and parenting practices (especially, in relation to sons). What links the two?

At the outset, we proposed that job characteristics might influence parenting practices through mood spillover or through their impact on parenting practices. In this study, we could only attempt to assess the former, by controlling for effects of depressed mood. (The "transfer of training" hypothesis has the nature of a residual, untested hypothesis, although we think we can develop a plausible rationale for it.) The key question we pursued was: "Which associations between job characteristics vanish when depression is controlled, which do not?" If controlling for depression reduced the relationship between a given job-

characteristic and parenting-attribute to nonsignificance, we concluded that mood-spillover was a tenable hypothesis. If controlling for the relationship between job- and parenting-attribute did not reduce the relationship to nonsignificance, we concluded that transfer of training was a tenable (albeit untested) hypothesis.

The evidence suggests that both spillover of mood and transfer of training may occur. As usual in this study, gender differences prevail: Different aspects of jobs appear to lead to spillover and transfer of skills from one setting to the other, for fathers and mothers.

For fathers, challenging, stimulating jobs are related to "good" parenting due to spillover of positive mood. In contrast, the positive relationship between complexity of fathers' work with people and good parenting is not due to mood spillover. Complexity of work with people actually may increase fathers' intellectual and emotional flexibility in dealing with their sons. (Of course, various selection effects also may be operative: e.g., people with more deft interaction styles with others may get the kinds of jobs that involve complex dealings with people.)

For mothers, challenging jobs and good parenting (specifically, high-quality explanations) do not permit the mood-spillover explanation (i.e., the relationship does not go away, as for fathers, when depression is controlled). A residual hypothesis is that mothers who face challenge and stimulation on the job become more cognitively competent as parents. On the other hand, complex

work with people may eventuate in better parenting of sons because such work raises women's spirits: i.e., controlling for depression reduces the positive association between complexity and warmth, and even more so, the inverse association between complexity and harshness. (Jobs low in complexity, in which the woman is instructed and directed by others, may depress mothers' positive affect toward sons and increase their propensity to discipline sons harshly.) Table 8 summarizes these findings.

IV. Parents' jobs and perceptions of children

Due to time constraints, I can only summarize briefly our data on the relations between job characteristics and perceptions of children. (Recall Fig. 1.)

Fathers first:

(See Table 9)

Although job complexity and job challenge had consistent relations to fathers' parenting of sons, the only job characteristic that was related to fathers' perceptions of their boys was time-urgency. Fathers with more time pressure on the job perceived their sons less favorably ($r=.51$). Interestingly, teachers corroborated this perception --and quite strongly ($r=-.49$) Since time-urgency was not related to measure of fathers' parenting of sons, this finding may reflect a direct effect of time-urgency on paternal perceptions of sons. Perhaps time-urgency decreases the favorabless of men's views of their sons through some kind of mood spillover. In light of the fact that the time-urgency/paternal perceptions relationship

is not diminished when depression is controlled, the relevant mood may be irritability or after-work withdrawal from interpersonal contact (Repetti, 1989). The fact that teachers, not just fathers, see boys less favorably when fathers' work is time-urgent suggests that boys' "actual" behavior (not just fathers' views of it) is adversely influenced by their fathers' negative mood.

In keeping with the style of the previously-presented material, we note that these relationships were quite invulnerable to controls for other variables.

Now, mothers:

(See Table 10)

In contrast to fathers, the mothers' job-characteristic that is related to perceptions of children is complexity of work with people. Mothers whose jobs involve more complex work with people perceived their sons more favorably, a result that generally withstood inclusion of control variables described elsewhere. (Partialling out education or depression reduced these correlations to trend level, $p<.07$, however.)

Although mood spillover may play a modest role in linking complexity of work with people to perceptions of sons, a somewhat stronger case can be made for the possibility that the effects of complexity are mediated by parenting style. When either of two aspects of "style", firm-but-flexible control and harsh control, were partialled out, the relationships between job complexity and maternal perceptions of their child generally were reduced to

nonsignificance.[1]

In general, then, the evidence suggests that fathers' job characteristics may affect fathers' and teachers' perceptions of boys via spillover of fathers' mood; and that jobs may affect mothers' perceptions of children indirectly, through the effect of jobs on mothers' parenting behaviors. This is a topic that needs further exploration, as we continue to examine the links from job characteristics to child-development outcomes.

SUMMMARY AND COMMENTARY

Clearly, the major theme of this presentation has been that relations between work and parenting differ as a function of the gender of parent and child. In general, fathers' work is more strongly associated with parenting than is mothers'; and features of parents' work are more strongly linked to the parenting of sons than the parenting of daughters. Broadly speaking, this theme echoes past research in pointing to the vulnerability of boys to parental work. What is different is that fathers' work --somewhat neglected during decades of attention to the consequences of maternal employment-- may be more consequential for parenting behaviors than is mothers' work. What is also different is that boys' "vulnerability" takes the form of a selective benefit, compared to girls, when parents' job is of high quality: When their jobs are

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[1] These parenting variables qualified as potential mediators, because they were significantly related to both job complexity and maternal perceptions of children's behavior.

stimulating and challenging, and involve complex interactions with people, parents appear to "do better" by boys.

Why are there somewhat stronger links between fathers' job characteristics and their manner of parenting? One possibility is that mothers' parenting behaviors are more heavily "scripted" by society and by past experiences in the family. Insofar as girls of a generation ago (i.e., today's mothers of young children) were more strongly socialized to an image of mothering than were boys to fathering, women may be less susceptible to other influences on parenting, such as those that might be generated by experiences on the job. Nonetheless, women may <u>not</u> be impervious, as parents, to experiences at work. Although Pleck (1977) proposed that it is less acceptable for mothers to import work concerns into the home setting than is the case for fathers, both "bring work home."

Why might parents with good jobs invest more heavily in rearing their sons? This question is all the more intriguing because there were virtually no differences in mothers' or fathers' average parenting scores for sons vs. daughters on the parenting measures used in this study. (The one exception: mothers behaved more warmly and responsively to daughters than to sons in the lab situation.) Perhaps parents with high-quality jobs, wishing to reproduce this occupational capability in their children, view work as more central to their sons' future life course. And perhaps parents with high quality jobs, wishing to reproduce this occupational capability in the next generation, perceive that more effort will be required to achieve this outcome in sons than

daughters. The argument so familiar to developmental psychologists --that boys are more difficult than girls to socialize-- also may be quite evident to mothers and fathers.

Cautionary notes. The intriguing and consistent finding that job characteristics are more more strongly related to the parenting of 5- 6-year-old sons than daughters will be pursued further in analyses of families that have boys only, girls only, and children of both genders. Caution should be exercised in generalizing the findings of this study to other samples in view of possible non-randomness with respect to respondents' participation in the various stages of this project. Finally, although we controlled for a number of potentially counfounding factors in our analyses of relations between job characteristics and parenting, and job characteristics and perceptions of children, other, third-variable explanations can not be ruled out --especially, those involving selective forces that lead different people of similar educational attainment into different kinds of jobs.

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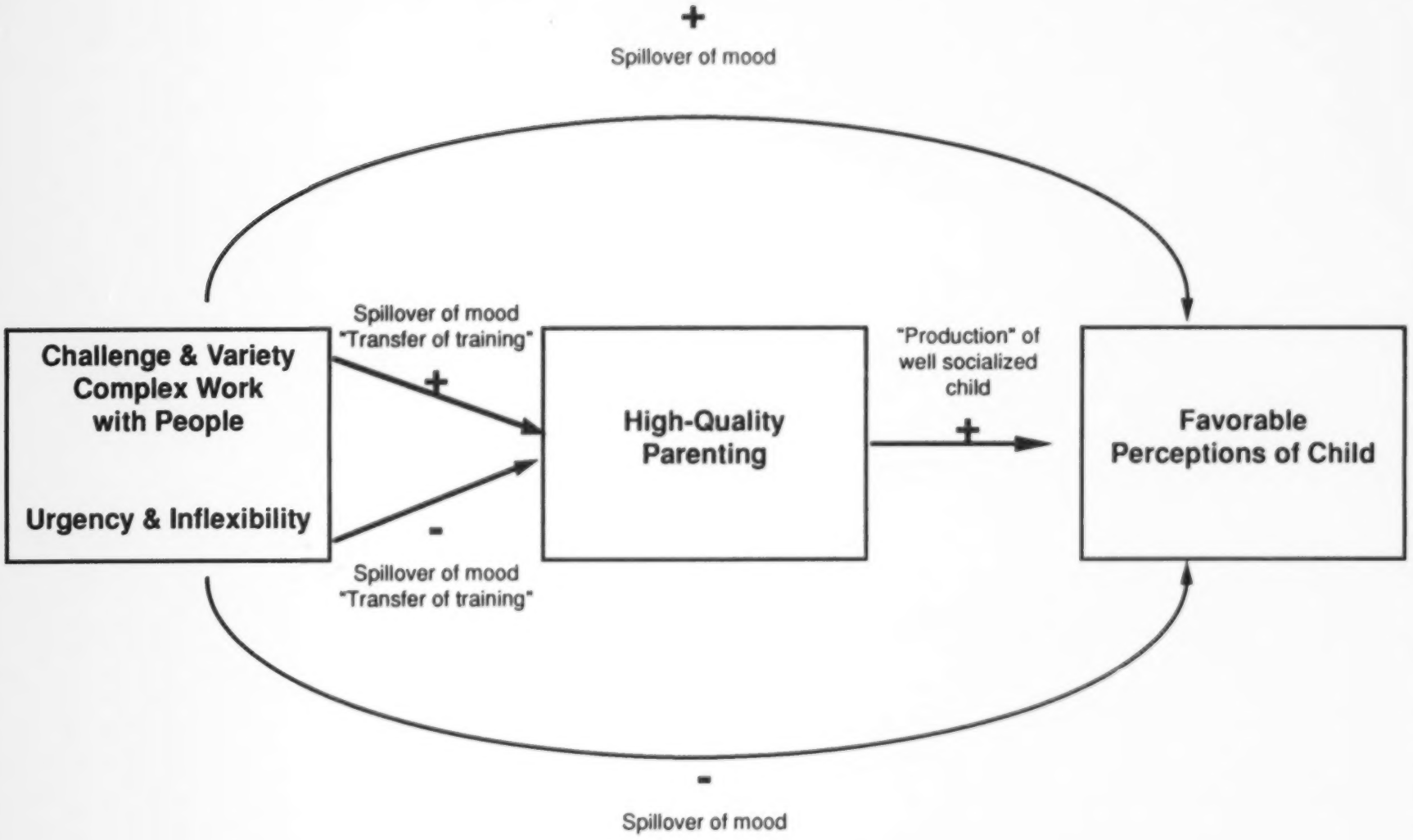

Fig. 1. Hypothesized relations among job characteristics, parenting attitudes, and children's behavior

TABLE 1
N's FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF DATA

	Parental Self-Report	Lab Observ. of Parent	Perceptions of Child's Behavior
Fathers of:			
Sons	38	28	38
Dtrs	25	17	25
Mothers of:			
Sons	72	50	72
Dtrs	46	23	46
Teachers:			
Father/Son Sample			22
Fathers/Dtr Sample			16
Mother/Son Sample			44
Mother/Dtr Sample			23

TABLE 2.1
SAMPLE ITEMS AND SCALES

JOBS

Challenge	"I'm frequently expected to solve challenging problems at work."
	"I have a great deal of influence in the decision-making process on my job."
Complex Work With People	mentors, negotiates, instructs
Time-Urgency	"My job requires me to work fast most of the day."
	"I have trouble finding time to take a break when I'm at work."

TABLE 2.2
SAMPLE ITEMS AND SCALES

PARENTING

Warmth & Responsiveness	Speaks &/or acts warmly, attentively, empathically, responsively (5-point scale)
Quality of Explanations	Gives explicit, age-appropriate reasons for events & prohibitions (3-point scale)
Firm/Flexible Control	"I encourage my child to join adult discussions, but I don't let him/her dominate them."
Harsh Control	"I teach my child to take a back seat ('be seen and not heard') when adults are around."
Lax Control	"When adults are having a conversation, I encourage my child to have as much to say as anybody else."

TABLE 2.3
SAMPLE ITEMS AND SCALES

PERCEPTIONS

Positive Behaviors	Independent, helpful and cooperative, understands the feelings of others, cheerful, undemanding and patient
Problem Behaviors	Bullies or is mean to others, disobedient, withdrawn, impulsive/acts w/o thinking, sad

TABLE 3
MEASURES

Construct	Source
Job Characteristics	
Challenge and Stimulation of Job	Self-Report
Complexity of Work with People	D.O.T.
Time-Urgency of Job	Self-Report
Parenting	
Warmth and Responsiveness	Lab Observation
Quality of Explanations	Lab Observation
Firm/Flexible Control of Child	Self-Report
Harsh Control of Child	Self-Report
Lax Control of Child	Self-Report
Perceptions of Child	
Positive Behaviors of Child	Checklist
Problem Behavior of Child	Checklist

TABLE 4
CONTROL VARIABLES

- Parent's Level of Education
- Total Weekly Hours of Work and Work-Related Activity
- Job Satisfaction
- Depression

TABLE 5
Investment of Time in Work & Parenting

	Fathers	Mothers
WITH MORE JOB COMPLEXITY:	• Spend more time on work and work-related activities if their 6-year-old is a daughter • Devote more time to developing sons' skills • Spend more time alone with sons	
WITH MORE JOB CHALLENGE:	• Spend more time on work and work-related activities if their 6-year-old is a daughter • Tend to devote more time to developing sons' skills (p.06)	• Spend more time on work and work-related activities regardless of child's gender
WITH MORE TIME-URGENT JOB:	• Spend more time on work and work-related activities if their 6-year-old is a daughter • Spend less time alone with daughters	• Spend more time on work and work-related activities regardless of child's gender • Devote less time to developing daughters' skills

TABLE 6
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: FATHERS

With More Job Complexity:	Fathers spend more time on work and work-related activities if they have daughters.
	Fathers spend more time alone with sons.
	Fathers devote more time to developing sons' skills.
	Fathers behave more warmly and responsively to sons.
	Fathers report less harsh control of sons.
	Fathers report less lax control of sons.
	Fathers report more firm-but-flexible control of daughters.
With More Job Challenge:	Fathers spend more time on work and work-related activities if they have daughters.
	Fathers tend to devote more time to developing sons' skills ($p < .06$).
	Fathers give higher-quality explanations to sons.
	Fathers report more firm-but-flexible control of sons.
	Fathers report less harsh control of sons.
With More Time-Urgent Job:	Fathers spend more time on work and work-related activities if they have daughters.
	Fathers spend less time alone with daughters.
	Fathers report less lax control of daughters.

TABLE 7
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: MOTHERS

With More Job Complexity:	**Mothers behave more warmly and responsively to sons.** **Mothers give higher-quality explanations to sons.** **Mothers report more firm-but-flexible control of sons.** **Mothers report less harsh control of sons.**
With More Job Challenge:	Mothers spend more time on work and work-related activities regardless of child's gender. **Mothers give higher-quality explanations to sons.** **Mothers tend to report laxer control of daughters ($p < .07$.).**
With More Time-Urgent Job:	Mothers spend more time on work and work-related activities regardless of child's gender. Mothers devote less time to developing daughters' skills.

TABLE 8
Process Through Which Job-Attributes Might Influence Parenting

	Fathers	Mothers
JOB ATTRIBUTES		
Challenge/Stimulation	Spillover	Transfer of Training
Complexity	Transfer of Training	Spillover

TABLE 9
FATHERS' JOB CHARACTERISTICS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN BY FATHERS & TEACHERS

	Positive Behaviors	Problem Behaviors
MORE CHALLENGING JOBS:		
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MORE COMPLEX WORK WITH PEOPLE:		
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MORE TIME-URGENT JOBS:		

- Fathers perceive sons less positively ($r = -.51$, $p<.01$)
- Teachers perceive boys less positively ($r = -.49$, $p<.05$)

TABLE 10
MOTHERS' JOB CHARACTERISTICS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CHILDREN BY MOTHERS & TEACHERS

	Positive Behaviors	Problem Behaviors
MORE CHALLENGING JOBS:	• Mothers tend to perceive *sons* less positively	
MORE COMPLEX WORK WITH PEOPLE:	• Mothers perceive *sons* more positively • Teachers perceive *boys* more positively (r=.35, p<.05)	• Mothers perceive *sons* as having fewer problem behaviors • Teachers tend to perceive boys as having fewer problem behaviors (r=.24, p<.07)